20¢ AUGUST 7, 1950

New Republic

KOREA: TWO KINDS OF DEFEATISM

AN EDITORIAL

MEDICAL PROGRESS AND NATIONAL HEALTH

By MARGUERITE CLARK

THE FAR EAST AND U.S. WORLD POLICY

By HAROLD R. ISAACS

FOUR BOOKS ON ASIA

Reviewed by WALTER L. BRIGGS

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Battle for ASIA

● The battle in Korea is not just a military struggle to force the Communists back behind the 38th parallel. It is a battle for the whole of Asia and its people.

● It is, moreover, the supreme test of leadership in the UN by the free nations. Do we have ideas, principles and clarity of purpose sufficient to win the people of Asia to our side? If not, we must speedily reorganize our thinking and gear our actions to policies they can accept, believe in, and live by.

● The fate of the UN is linked to our fate and the fate of Asia. Our "way of life," our capitalist democracy, can be equal to this task only if we constantly reëxamine our weaknesses and engage in self-criticism.

● Liberalism, if purposeful, alert, tolerant and determined, can win against fanatical dogma in a fair fight. But it can win only if it is vigilant, informed and just.

● In interpreting this battle for Asia, the *New Republic* will be energetic and watchful, always with the great objectives in mind: support of the United Nations and the building of a sane and just world order.

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WASHINGTON WIRE

IT IS HARD to maintain perspective in time of battle. The primitives, now as always, are willing to win the battle at the cost of the war. It is to be hoped that we can win both. The basic global struggle is still against Communist imperialism. Korea has little strategic importance of its own. We can adopt short-sighted policies in Korea and in the UN that will alienate all Asia. The urge for these policies in Congress is almost irresistible. All of the berserk press chains—Hearst, McCormick, Scripps-Howard—howl for them. They shriek for Acheson's scalp because he takes the long view and they take the short view. Yet if America's policies toward Formosa, toward seating Communist China in the Security Council, toward Fascist Spain, toward using the A-bomb, perhaps, alienate the moral sense of those who voted with us in the UN, then the US faces Russia alone.

The State Department knows India's attitude. It has been presented to Acheson in strongest terms. India is the most important single independent force in Asia. Nehru's desire to seat Communist China in the Security Council may seem to us unrealistic. His insistence illustrates how narrow is the field of action approved by all of our supporters. Yet while we have India we have Asia; when we lose India we are on the lonely quicksand of white man against Asiatic.

The "flight from the dollar" continues. In part, panic-buying is hysteria; in part, it is lack of confidence in controls. American families who bought World War II bonds on the representation that they were "the safest investments in the world" now find the purchasing power of the money invested amounts to only about 60 percent of what they put in. The public saw itself gulled and deceived in the great 1946 "Kill OPA" hoax. Here, you remember, the meat industry withheld meat from the market in a strike against continuing OPA controls. An election-year hysteria was successfully whipped up which ultimately cost Truman control of the House. All the forces of conservative publicity, from Fulton Lewis Jr. up, bellowed that prices would stabilize if controls were withdrawn. The public fell for it. Said Senator Wherry: Prices will "take care of themselves" as soon as production goes up. Taft and GOP floor-leader Halleck agreed. A year after OPA died, retail food prices were 31 percent higher (meats, 71 percent) and wearing apparel was up 18 percent. The GOP was happy because it had captured the House, the packing industry was happy because it had won its strike, everybody was happy except the poor, fooled consumers. You can deplore but at the same time understand their fears now.

Ranging round among our contemporaries last week we came up with these random notes. The good old Washington *Times-Herald* (McCormick), in opposing Truman's economic controls as furthering the "Socialist revolution," calmly observed that a "voluntary system of giving priority to military contracts can be improvised in a couple of days" (ouch!) and will work better than "any compulsory system that can be devised." . . . Chairman Buchanan of the Lobby investigating committee told the House that *Life* magazine had omitted two important sentences in publishing a protest letter from him, July 17, replying to an editorial attack. . . . The Portland *Oregonian*, July 25, quoted ex-Governor Miller, Wyoming, as denying he had ever attacked Bonneville Dam administrator Paul Raver as a "Socialist," though an article under Miller's name, carrying the charge, appears in the current *Reader's Digest* ("What Does CVA Mean to You?"). Miller's casual explanation, quoted editorially in the newspaper, still leaves us gasping: "Mr. Miller said he did not know who had put that reference in the article, but a piece such as that goes through many hands." Well, well, *well.* Representative Jackson (D, Wash.)

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calls this "dishonest journalism." How much did Miller get for the use of his name? What is the going rate for ex-Governors in the literary market; as high as Lustron's to Joe McCarthy?

Notes. The big battle in Congress is how far to continue Marshall Plan funds to maintain economic strength in Europe while advancing the new $4 billion program for rearming Europe; the Administration argues you can't have military strength without economic strength. . . . Primary defeats of Pepper (D, Fla.), Graham (D, N. C.) and Gurney (R, S. D.) all mean a weaker Senate; now able, liberal Mike Monroney's victory over self-serving Elmer Thomas (D, Okla.) helps redress the balance. . . . Truman doesn't forgive or forget easily: the $5 billion tax increase he now asks is the same amount as the vicious tax cut the 80th Congress pushed through over his veto; time points up morals and brings revenge. . . . Summary of three years of Truman's economic reports to Congress—he told Congress if it killed the OPA prices would soar: it did and they did; he told Congress if it cut taxes the deficit would return: it did and it did; he told Congress that if it ignored steel expansion the next emergency would bring shortages: it did and it did. . . . Both parties have now fitted Korea nicely into politics. The GOP has definitely adopted a two-point election slogan: He Took Us Into War, and, He Didn't Prepare Us For It; Democratic strategy emphasizes GOP votes against the Korean aid bill. It's the ancient, time-honored game of blame-shifting; actually neither side knew what was coming. . . . The London *Observer* called MacArthur "an old man"; looking it up we found he is 70, hasn't been in the US for 15 years. . . . Senator Douglas (D, Ill.) still vainly tries to cut pork-barrel spending on specific items to save money for Korea; he is still put off with the phony proposal for a blanket 10-percent "economy" cut on the omnibus appropriations bill when it is passed. . . . The Administration is trying to channel spy-hysteria into the hands of the professional FBI, away from dangerous McCarthyites. . . . The public is way ahead of the Administration in demanding economic controls.

Washington T. R. B.

CORRESPONDENCE

England and the Continent

SIR: In your editorial of 26th June, you say that the statement of the Executive Committee of the British Labour Party, "European Unity," "boils down to the observation that socialism comes first," and that the Labour Party, if this represents its future line, will do what it can to prevent further liberalization of European trade. This gives a dangerously false impression. . . .

The crucial passages in "European Unity" appear to me to be the following:

1. "Ever since 1945 the Labour Party has been guided by a firm conviction that the peoples of Western Europe must work closely together and that Britain must play a leading part in their coöperation."

2. "The Labour Party's socialist principles demand that the movement towards European unity should be such as to permit the continuation of full employment and social justice in Britain and the extension of those benefits over the rest of Western Europe."

3. "The European peoples do not want a supra-national authority to impose agreements. They need an international machinery to carry out agreements which are reached without compulsion."

4. "It is far better that unity should continue to be pursued as at present through coöperation between governments by mutual consent."

In other words, we do stand out for full employment and social justice. . . . And we prefer free coöperation among equal governments to the dictates of a supra-national authority responsible to no one. Would Americans agree to the US steel and coal industries being placed under the control of an American continental organization on which the US members could at any time be outvoted by the combined delegations of Brazil and the Argentine? . . .

Incidentally, Mr. Attlee has now admitted his co-responsibility for the statement, as a member of the British Labour Party Executive Committee.

In conclusion, may I transmit across the Atlantic a message of heartfelt affection to all Americans? If I did not profoundly and passionately believe in the good will that does and must exist between our countries, I should never have written this letter.

London, Eng. EUGENE ROLFE

Korea Comes First

SIR: I cannot refrain from expressing to you my reaction to the editorial in the July 17 issue—"The UN Goes to War."

The UN has no business to go to war. Police action is not war, and it is on that very ground that it has been advocated for the UN.

But we are talking and acting as if we were at war. Police action means that the interests of Korea are the first consideration, not advantage over Russia. . . .

The UN could and should formulate its solution for the present impasse and promise the Koreans to work for the enforcement of its plan, if both sides laid down their arms. It would seem that such a proposal would envisage the setting up of a new government distinct from either of the present ones. . . .

Poland, Ohio HELEN D. WOODARD

Fair Comment

SIR: I wish to take exception to the letter by Allen F. Kifer (the *NR*, July 10) which criticizes Harold Ickes for exposing Senator McCarthy's past. I feel strongly that Senator McCarthy's past, his questionable ethics and his evident lack of responsibility have everything to do with his accusations. . . . It is only fair and just that the public should be informed of the type of man who makes the accusations. . . .

Detroit, Mich. JOSEPHINE GOMON

Right to Privacy (continued)

SIR: In answer to TRB's request for opinions in the correspondence column of the July 24 issue, I have always felt that if ever I were asked such a question by an official or unofficial body of any sort, my answer would be:

"What is a Communist? Give me an exact definition of a Communist and tell me if you (whoever you may be) do not fit some portion of that description."

What they really mean is, "Are you a member of a revolutionist conspiracy?" And that is how the question should be phrased to avoid thought control. If the question *were* so phrased, I would have no objection to it.

Miami, Florida JOSEPH GERTLER

SIR: It seems to me, so long as Communism is the concern of a definitely established political party, that a witness before any properly constituted committee should be expected to answer yes or no to the question, Are you a Communist? Why shouldn't he? Isn't he admitting that he is doing something which he recognizes is off-color if he refuses to answer? . . .

I do not think that anyone in these days should be required to answer the question, Were you ever a Communist? Many people do foolish, ill-considered or impulsive things in youth which do not affect their present opinions or status. Perhaps they are even more secure in their present loyalties because they have experimented a little in the past. . . .

ELEANOR HOPE JOHNSON

New London, N. H.

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VOLUME 123, NUMBER 6, ISSUE 1862, NEW YORK CITY, AUGUST 7, 1950 **New Republic**

KOREA: TWO KINDS OF DEFEATISM

NO RETREAT, no surrender, no Dunkirk, stand or die: General Walton H. Walker's orders are harsh words for raw kids, drafted for a short spell of police duty and now clinging to bare ridges, dense forests and treacherous gullies, outnumbered, outclassed in weapons and outflanked in a strange country.

If they hold the beachhead, then they face a slow return over ground that takes a heavy toll in lives, and against a people, unified as the Koreans have wished to be, aroused by quick reforms and resentful of the indiscriminate destruction of heavy bombing raids. Four weeks of steady retreat and the prospect of months of costly advance are hard for any people to bear. For what it is worth, we would like to say that we think the conduct of the American troops and the support of the American people have been inspiring.

Arguments, recriminations and the hunt for scapegoats are inevitable in a democratic appraisal of our record and our hopes. They may be ugly in an election year. But they will be easily overcome if our present mood prevails.

The two reactions to our present frustration which can be dangerous are defeatism and exasperation.

Defeatism has an armory of powerful arguments: we backed a regime and a system in Korea whose rottenness invited attack: why should we fight to reimpose it now against the desires of the Koreans themselves? Were we not to blame in keeping Communist China out of the UN, and isn't the UN action illegal at heart without Chinese participation? Isn't there an easy way out, that can spare US lives and the mud huts of a primitive people used as a pawn in a conflict between great powers?

The same plausible arguments were advanced when the Fascists were tearing up the world before the last war. Japan was going to civilize backward China; the Ethiopians permitted slavery; the Sudeten Germans had lots of legitimate grievances; the Polish Corridor was a ridiculous anomaly. The Austrians desired the Anschluss and threw flowers before Hitler's feet. Poland, whose defense led Europe to war, was ruled by a pro-Fascist dictatorship.

The issue then was not the democratic credentials of the victims, or the claims of the aggressors to popular support. It was whether conflicts should be settled by force or law. And when law failed—through neglect—to halt aggression, the issue was should those who accepted law give it arms and deter force by greater force.

Communists and fellow travelers who preached collective security when Russia was threatened in the thirties may spread defeatism and justify attack today when Russia backs aggression. But honest men, whatever may be their doubts and their regrets, have no choice.

Exasperation today is a far greater danger than defeatism. For the first time Americans who want nothing more than to live in peace are beginning to believe that there will never be peace as long as Russia is ruled by Communists, and are saying *Let's get it over with now.*

Exasperation also is a powerful incentive. The Russians have shown a high regard for the technicalities of the UN but no regard for its basic purposes; from now on they remain in the UN only to paralyze the nations who believe in peace: the Cold War is on the side of the Russians; so is the atomic arms race. If we wait, we invite the devastation of the whole world; why should we go on killing Koreans and Indo-Chinese and Malayans and ignore the Russians who push them forward. The least we can do, it is argued, is to declare now, that at the next aggressive move by any Communist country, we will go to the source and hit Moscow with the atom bomb.

This line of argument is defeatism of a different kind. Against its counsel of despair there are all the reasons for hope. Russia is now, as always, concerned primarily with her own national interest: she is traditionally opposed to adventures with no visible end, and far too weak internally to invite war. Soviet opportunism dictated the Korean attack in the belief, well grounded in a Joint Chiefs of Staff decision, that we would not fight. Our response and our mobilization may still produce modification of long-range Soviet trends.

Meanwhile we are in no position to force a short-term showdown. A Communist sweep through Southeast Asia and a Soviet sweep across Western Europe in a war fought in the near future would make victory almost impossible. New guarantees of Yugoslavia and Iran may end the ambiguities that led to the Korean attack. New ways must be found to make certain that the UN can be as effective in the future as it has been in Korea thanks to Russia's fortuitous absence from the UN councils. But blanket threats of general war will simply force areas which we cannot defend to seek neutrality or alliances with Russia. The worst result of the Korean war would be if the courage of our soldiers led to a belief that we can fight alone.

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WHO WILL BE THE WAR BOSS?

THE NEXT QUESTION for President Truman is how to use the very considerable powers of "partial mobilization" which Congress seems about to give him. The danger at the moment appears to be that the President will make the mistake of spreading the responsibility for administering his "partial" program all over the Washington landscape. Truman properly fears setting up a giant new structure which might not be needed were the Korean war to be unexpectedly settled, but he is likely to find government-as-usual even more treacherous ground.

The Defense Production Act of 1950, if enacted in the form in which it has been approved by the Banking and Currency Committee of the House, confers upon the President the broadest kind of power to divert and expand the economy. It authorizes him to allocate essential materials and facilities: to order the priority of contracts; to requisition supplies; to encourage the expansion of productive capacity by special loans and other inducements; to regulate credit; and to "make such rules, regulations, and orders" and set up such administrative machinery as he deems necessary to carry out the provisions of the act. The President will not be constrained by his mandate. Congress is leaving him free to decide, as completely unhampered as possible, how best to run this limited war.

Franklin Roosevelt, in May, 1940, faced with a somewhat similar problem of administering a vast military-production program short of war, decided that the new defense agencies should be independent of his regular Cabinet departments. Roosevelt's reasoning was that it would be easier to get Congress to give funds and authority to temporary agencies which could be readily abolished later on, and that new agencies, not frozen in the habits of bureaucracy, were needed for the stupendous task of converting civilian industries to military production. To administer the first large program of World War II, Roosevelt appointed a National Defense Advisory Council, a seven-member board, with no chairman. The NDAC foundered for lack of a responsible head. In the succession of changes that followed, the Roosevelt policy was to create a new agency for each new problem. Sometimes this worked well; sometimes it didn't. But whether it worked well or badly, it left a heritage of confusion.

As chairman of the Senatorial watchdog committee studying the operation of the war agencies, Truman must have been impressed with the inevitable inefficiency of this system, and he is undoubtedly concerned with avoiding a repetition of that experience. Some members of his Cabinet and of the White House staff are urging that he simply distribute his new defense powers among them and personally coördinate their work through meetings of the Cabinet. So loose a plan of administration would be totally inadequate even if the present $10 billion program were likely to be the extent of our military preparations now. But the expectation is that our economy will be sustaining double or triple that much military spending in another year unless—what does not seem probable—a general settlement with the Russians occurs.

The orderly carrying out of so vast a changeover in our economy is no sideline job for a President of the United States. It requires the most precise kind of planning of resources and facilities, and this will not be accomplished through the chummy coöperation of a Truman Cabinet any more than it was accomplished through the headless National Defense Advisory Council in 1940.

One clear line of authority must run directly from the President to every agency and bureau of the government to prevent the endless delays and conflicts that are sure to develop if the parts of the program are split away from the whole. Perhaps the wisest step would be to create a new over-all defense agency immediately. A good argument can be made out, however, for a compromise solution. The basic functions to be performed under the new Defense Act could be parceled out to existing agencies if a top staff was created with power to supervise every part of the program and with clear and undisputed authority to give the necessary orders to get things done.

W. Stuart Symington and the existing staff of the National Security Resources Board which he heads would seem the natural repository for such power. The NSRB certainly has not distinguished itself in its past performance. But in the brief time he has held his present job, Symington has shown the same intelligence and energy which characterized his performance in previous government positions. He has the vigor, the common sense and the background in industry that are basic requirements for a defense production chief. With a free hand, he probably could assemble the kind of first-class staff that would be essential.

By giving Symington the job of coördinating all the segments of the defense program, the President might avoid creating any new giant department. With Symington and a top staff to demand results and apply

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policies on a day-to-day basis, it might be possible to entrust operation of the allocations program to a staff in the Department of Commerce; to turn over credit control to the Federal Reserve Board, manpower to the Department of Labor, fuels development to Interior, and financing to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

Symington would need to maintain the closest kind of contact, not only with the heads of the military and of the State Department, but with the Bureau of the Budget and the Council of Economic Advisers in particular. It would take the full resources of the NSRB to keep the production program going forward. Under such an arrangement the role of the Economic Council in keeping an eye on the productive resources of the whole economy would become even more important than it is now. As defense production goes forward, the operating agencies of the government will necessarily concentrate more and more sharply on dividing our present supply of all those things which will be short. The objective of the Defense Production Act—to carry out large-scale rearmament and increase our total ability to produce meanwhile—will be lost sight of, unless a group such as the Council of Economic Advisers constantly keeps its eye on increasing the size of our economic pie as well as on making sure that it is sliced fairly.

Soaring prices and the growing clamor for wage raises mean that the President cannot avoid the need for control powers in these additional fields for very long. The effectiveness of those controls when they are adopted will depend in large part on how the powers to direct production have been used in the meantime. If they have been firmly wielded to increase capacity and supply all down the lines, with good management prices can be stabilized too. The President should not wait until the country is deep in inflation to install a boss over the civilian economy.

THE WEEK

RUSSIA RETURNS

Russia's return to the Security Council, reversing a previous stand against any meeting with the Chinese Nationalists, amounts to recognition of the UN's sudden assumption of the power to combat aggression.

As Chairman of the Security Council, Jacob Malik may place these items on the agenda:

Korea. Malik cannot undo the action already taken by the UN in Korea. The UN has failed to act principally in not committing the specialized agencies to a program of relief and reconstruction in Southern Korea. Malik may block this action, causing increased suffering but not affecting the war.

So far the USSR has avoided direct support of the North Koreans. If Malik supports them in the UN, the US may seek a resolution investigating Russia's role in the aggression.

More probable is a Soviet proposal for peace in Korea based on its conquest by the North Koreans.

China. Six of the Security Council's members have recognized Communist China, five have recognized the Nationalists. If Malik rules against the Nationalists, seven votes will be needed to overturn his ruling.

Since the West is divided on the issue and the political claims of the Chinese Communists are strong, the US will base its stand on the powers of the chairman. We will argue that if the chairman could rule out a member he could, by treating his own negative vote as a veto, force his ruling to stick, even if the Council opposes him by ten to one. We will argue that the Charter cannot possibly be interpreted so as to give such powers over UN membership to any one nation.

Formosa. Malik may introduce a resolution branding the US as an aggressor in Formosa and as endangering the peace by interfering in China's internal affairs. This action will be useful as a propaganda offensive and diversion from Korea, and indispensable if a Chinese Communist invasion of Formosa is imminent.

America will answer that Formosa belongs *de jure* to Japan; that the Cairo declaration of Britain, the US and China, recognizing China's claim to Formosa, was simply a declaration of intent, and that Formosa's status can be settled only by the final terms of a Japanese peace treaty.

Formosa remains much the most difficult and critical problem before the UN. If Communist China invades Formosa the United States will be at war with the Chinese Reds, and they can insist on Russian participation under the new Sino-Soviet treaty. There is no clear way in which we can relate our present stand to the UN as we have in Korea. Nor is there any precedent for a stand by the Nationalist troops. Yet if American troops land in Formosa, as the China lobby and Henry Luce seem to desire, they are likely to be arrested and shot overnight, if Nationalist armies follow the pattern of the mainland and go over to the Communist side.

SMALL BUSINESS IN THE WAR

As an integral part of President Truman's "partial mobilization" of our manpower, a Small Defense Plants Act of 1950 has been introduced, patterned along the lines of the Smaller War Plants Corporation set up during the last war. In 1940, when World War II defense efforts got under way, it became clear that larger corporations were building up the resources of their own companies with little concern about making full use of the facilities of small business. Between 1940-42 many small business plants lay idle, and the small businessman watched his markets vanish, his supply of materials dry up and

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his labor drift away to other plants. The Smaller War Plants Corporation established in 1942 served to keep small business alive as well as to marshal the resources of the country.

Senator John Sparkman (D, Ala.) and Representative Wright Patman (D, Tex.), co-authors of the Small Defense Plants Act, want to prevent a repetition of 1940, when growing scarcities of basic materials and their control by large corporations rapidly resulted in (1) the elimination of many small businesses and (2) the subjecting of many others to the dictates of big-business primary contractors. "Today a similar need exists for special legislation," Senator Sparkman said, "to insure that small business will have a fair share of available supplies—for defense and essential civilian production—and a fair and equitable system of subcontracting in those cases in which primary contracts are awarded to large concerns."

Sparkman points out that there is already a dangerous trend revealed in the plan to grant private industry "exemption from the anti-trust laws" in order to permit the voluntary allocation by industry of scarce materials. Small business will suffer under a plan of "voluntary allocation" if big business is allowed to continue its present authority to decide who will get supplies, how much one can secure, and at what prices. Harry Blythe, Munitions Board adviser and chief of industrial mobilization planning, has already advised small businessmen "to establish contacts with larger companies immediately with a view toward obtaining subcontracts on Government work" (the New York *Times*, July 22, 1950).

"A critical problem of partial or complete mobilization arises in the abnormal demands for the basic commodities —such as steel, copper, lead, zinc, aluminum, and chemicals—for use in processing and fabrication," Senator Sparkman points out. "The experience of World War II indicated that when basic supplies become scarce large corporations proceed to embark on their own programs of allocation. Ample supplies are channeled to their own subsidiaries, while supplies sold to independents—for civilian and defense use—are sharply curtailed."

Representative Patman, who was one of the creators of the World War II Smaller War Plants Corporation, emphasized that its passage came late, after we had mobilized a large part of our economic and industrial resources. "The present proposal for a Small Defense Plants Corporation is needed to supplement and coördinate the small-business segment of our economy with the Defense Production Act of 1950 now under consideration by Congress," Patman said. It is in complete accord with the aims of the Act which states: "It is the sense of the Congress that small-business enterprises be encouraged to make the greatest possible contribution toward achieving the objectives of this Act."

Patman believes that any plan of mobilization which does not utilize the capacities and skills of small business is incomplete, negligent and dangerous. "Decentralization and diversification must be based on small-business participation and, therefore, must be made while we have the choice," he said.

The proposed Small Defense Plants Corporation would have authority to make loans and provide credit to small-business concerns and to perform certain special functions relating to procurement and other matters. The Corporation would have a revolving fund of $500 million to carry out its operations which include: loans to finance plant construction or expansion, the purchase of land, equipment and supplies, entering contracts with the government for the purpose of furnishing equipment or materials, and arranging such contracts by letting subcontracts to small-business concerns.

Upon introducing the measure last week, Sparkman and Patman issued a joint statement warning that "Free enterprise and economic vigor depend upon the maintenance of small-business opportunity. Let us not make the mistake of losing democracy at home while winning the battle against a foreign aggressor. Competition and free enterprise are at the heart of a democratic economic system. Small business is the vital element without which that system cannot function."

PEACE PETITION

BIG STEEL YIELDS A BIT

Ten years have produced a gratifying change in the attitude of America's steel makers. In 1940, the big steel companies flatly refused government demands that they step up production to meet the needs of the defense program then getting under way. The steel industry was paralyzed with fear that it would be caught, after the defense period was over, with more capacity than the civilian market would support. Only the most drastic threats and inducements finally forced the manufacturers to expand production.

Apparently the industry has learned. The American Iron and Steel Institute announces that 13 companies, with US Steel in the lead, have undertaken to build more than six million tons of new steel-making capacity in the next two years. Added to the present 100 million tons of capacity, this will give the United States almost the amount of potential production it should have in peacetime without the government's having had to crack a single head.

In a show of further generosity, the Chairman of the Board of US Steel

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Irving S. Olds, has declared that the new expansion program might be increased even further if Congress incorporated a provision for accelerated depreciation in the tax law it is about to draft. The government certainly should give careful consideration to bestowing this extra plum on the industry if that is what is needed to keep the steel producers moving forward until we have a capacity of 150 million tons or more. The latest profit figures of US Steel indicate, however, that the industry may be able to bear the burden of additional expansion a while longer without government help. Profits for the quarter which ended on June 30 were $70 million this year, as compared with $44 million for the same period of last year.

MONRONEY'S VICTORY

(NORMAN, OKLA., NR correspondent)

Prohibition, United World Federalism, and the Korean war were the issues that brought victory to Representative Mike Monroney in his race for the Senate seat held for the past 24 years by Elmer Thomas, the speculating chairman of the Senate Agriculture Committee. President Truman's name did not enter into the campaign and only one Fair Deal issue was raised. On the Brannan Plan, Monroney opposed the Administration, and Thomas refused to take any position at all.

Monroney led the first primary of July 4 by 14,000 votes, with 45,000 votes cast for minor candidates. He ended Senator Thomas' Senatorial career by a margin of 25,000 votes last week. In a desperate attempt to save his failing chances, Thomas went so far as to enter into a strange alliance with the United Dry Association. The Senator made no bones about his drinking habits and cocktail parties, but explained that "Everybody knows I drink a little now and then, but I always vote dry." While this was enough to gain the public endorsement of the Oklahoma City United Dry officials, the association's state board of directors, who had not been consulted, openly objected and attacked Thomas on the air. Thomas agreed to vote for the Langer bill which would prohibit liquor advertising in interstate publications. Monroney refused to back it, describing it as an unconstitutional violation of freedom of the press. He had the added support of Representative Brooks Hays (D, Ark.), Dry leader in Congress, who telegraphed that he had doubts about the constitutionality of the Langer bill and added praise for Monroney and shock at the endorsement of Thomas by Oklahoma Drys.

Thomas' second line of attack against Monroney backfired in much the same manner. Gomer Smith, a perennial Oklahoma candidate with Dixiecrat tendencies, decided to back the Senator. In a radio broadcast, Smith charged that Monroney was a United World Federalist, a ringleader in the organization's vicious plot to "tear down the American flag, stamp on it and spit on it." Smith and other Thomas speakers said that "pink" Eastern magazines honeycombed with Communists were backing Monroney. Among those listed were *Time* and *Collier's* (*Time's* red band around the cover was symbolic, they pointed out). Also, that "silk-stocking socialist," Drew Pearson, was trying to dictate to Oklahoma voters. Gomer Smith's rantings sounded a bit thin after 25 years of the same old thing and his support evidently became a liability.

The Korean war brought a sharp change in tone at the end of the campaign. Monroney denounced the Senator as a "too little, too late" man on defense. He pointed to Thomas' successful efforts to hold the Air Force to 48 groups last year while the House recommended 58 groups. He blasted Thomas for trying to do away with three-fourths of the $835 million appropriated for stockpiling vital materials and for demanding a stop in the purchase of a new, highly effective antiaircraft gun, the Skysweeper. Thomas could make no direct answer to these attacks. Both Thomas and Monroney returned to Washington after the first week of the period between the primaries and did not come back before election day.

Monroney won through the popularity of his own personality. Senator Thomas was hurt by the barren repetition of the slogan, "experience counts," and by exposures of his gambling on the stock market. In November, Monroney will face the Reverend W. H. (Bill) Alexander, the red-haired Oklahoma City minister who won the Republican nomination after a dramatic shift from the Democratic Party. Alexander may be able to muster serious support if he gains the backing of Senator Thomas' embittered followers. He has announced that he will be aided in his campaign by cowboy star Roy Rogers and his horse Trigger, both of whom plan to come to Oklahoma to campaign for him. This might be effective, but Monroney is reported to be holding Gene Autry, an Oklahoma native, in reserve.

A VOTE FOR FREEDOM

The University of California Board of Regents has voted 10-9 to retain 40 high-ranking professors who refused to sign a "loyalty oath" or a contract disavowing Communism. Last April the Regents set up a committee on tenure before which nonconforming faculty members could state their cases. The committee heard the 40 professors and made recommendations to President Robert G. Sproul, who reviewed them and passed his recommendations along to the Board. Sproul's move to retain the professors resulted in a heated three-hour discussion, with opposition to the professors led by Regent John Francis Neylan, San Francisco attorney.

Governor Earl Warren, who cast the deciding vote, summarized for the professors: "It seems to me that the question is this: Is there substantial evidence that any of the 40 is a Communist? In view of the fact that the committee found specifically that none was a Communist and because the president of the university has found the same way, I think we must answer the question whether any of us has any evidence in addition to what is in these records. If there is no further evidence, I think we ought to admit there is no evidence that any is a Communist and we should support the president of the University."

Regent Neylan, however, took an evidence-be-hanged attitude and said he would call for a reconsideration of the matter at the August meeting of the Board. The American Association of University Professors, the watchdog of academic freedom, has taken its stand behind Sproul and Warren. If the Board reverses itself, AAUP could issue a report that would endanger the academic standing of the University.

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OUTSIDE AMERICA

Belgium's Leopold delayed his Holy Year visit to Rome until he was sure the road back from Rome led to power, if not glory, in Brussels. As a private citizen of the Catholic faith making a *pilgrimage to the Eternal City*, he would have been welcome in Vatican City, for the Roman Catholic Church is universalist and egalitarian in matters of faith. But as a king-in-becoming (though perhaps not the King of the Belgians that a socially and geographically balanced majority of popular votes might have made him), he was even more welcome, for the Church in politics favors what its spokesmen often call moral elites.

The coupling of the elite with the mass is the key to the essence of one of the two versions of "the new Europe" which have now come into direct conflict in the middle-ground of the cold war, between the extremes of Soviet-controlled Communism and American-sponsored capitalism. It is the formula of the Vatican's concept of a "Christian Europe" which has steadily been gaining ground.

The opposing version is that of the Britain of Labour, the Britain of Clement Attlee, which will not subordinate to any common goal of peace through power its formula of peace through progress. The British version relies on the mass without the elite; it insists upon nationalization, full employment and social justice. It is strongly anti-Communist.

But the Vatican version is far from being pro-capitalist, at least in the American sense. The official newspaper of the Vatican, *Osservatore Romano*, recently wrote:

> The Pope is equally opposed to the excesses of economic liberalism and of collectivism which levels everything. It is inadmissible that unemployment should be allowed to take care of itself through the "free play" of so-called "natural laws" which moreover are anti-natural because they sacrifice the weak for the benefit of the strong. Moreover, work cannot be provided artificially if by such a method, even if it gives temporary relief, the final result is the definite impairment of the resources of the collectivity. It is through free labor unions able to defend justice without aggravating injustice, and especially without crushing man, that interests can be reconciled, and this must be done under the aegis of the state. For it would be naïve to want to turn back a century either within national societies or in the community of states.

The victory of Leopold was a success for the Vatican. But so was the setback of the Communist-dominated General Confederation of Labor and the great increase in strength in the Confederation of Christian Workers (CFTC) in the French social-security election. And it is important, in terms of the larger conflict between Vatican City and Rome, to note that the largely Socialist Force Ouvrière did relatively badly.

The French Cardinals, Bishops and priests who in the spring of 1948 called upon the faithful to build a political bulwark against the advance of Communism were even more active in helping bring out the vote in the spring of 1950. But this time they were calling for the creation, in the form of the CFTC, of the nucleus of a Catholic political power.

From the viewpoint of London (or rather of the government in London whose followers make up a bare majority of the British voters), the Vatican's formula of elite and mass means reaction, hence a source of aggravation of the cold war, hence a danger to peace. From the viewpoint of the Vatican (or rather the Vatican statesmen who, by now, strongly influence the governments of most of continental Western Europe), the formula of the British is unrealistic, immoral, anachronistic, hence the one great obstacle to the creation of a united Europe that might assure a lasting European peace. Whether such a peace would also be a world peace is another matter.

In the dynamics of the contest, London's greatest weakness is not that it fails to command the support of the elite—of the minorities which in the European context still mobilize the forces of tradition and habit. It is that, despite the Socialism of the Labour government, the basis of its position is either too narrowly national or too broadly international. The Channel and the Commonwealth have no equivalents, on the other hand, in the universality of the Vatican. Moreover, there are no Socialist governments on the continent (or even truly progressives ones, except for Scandinavia) to which the British can appeal for support.

Thus, the Britain of Labour is quite alone in fighting the present political version of the Battle of Britain. For there is no help from the America of the White House, the State Department and the Pentagon. Indeed, in recent months, the formula of American policy has seemed to be the elite without the mass.

It is a formula that even the minorities of the Right have found increasingly inappropriate and ineffective, for they are more and more seeing the practical usefulness, if not wholly the justice, of the Vatican version. The central problems in Western Europe, as both the Vatican and London agree, are to create the atmosphere of peace and to give at least the impression of social justice. Both are mass problems of morale.

All that President Truman offers as an American contribution to their solution is the assurance that America's allies will be helped to resist "internal subversion." All that Dean Acheson offers is more and more cold war. All that the Pentagon promises is new secret weapons that will make World War III a war of elites rather than masses.

But as Hubert Beuve-Mery, editor of the Paris *Monde*, pointed out in a letter to the European edition of the New York *Herald Tribune*:

> Arms are not enough. After so many deaths and ruin and deceptions, after so many different masters, it is necessary in the Old Continent to rearm the morale of the people, and for that task much time and tact are required.

The Soviets certainly cannot be said to have tact. The Americans have (they say) no time, because of military urgencies. The British Labour government, expecting to face another election fairly soon, can afford neither time nor tact. Who has more time and tact than the Vatican—a state which asserts the right and duty to speak for all men for all eternity?

PERCY WINNER

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MEDICAL PROGRESS AND NATIONAL HEALTH

by Marguerite Clark

IN THE PAST half century, medicine has advanced enormously toward more definite knowledge, and consequent better control, of disease. Because of what has been learned through scientific research, doctors have found out how to detect tuberculosis, cardiovascular diseases and cancer in the early stages when they can often be arrested or cured. It is clear that the future of medicine lies in still more research, in more adequate prevention, in making available good medical care to everybody, and particularly in a better understanding of the relation between diseases of the body and the mind.

It is still less than half a century ago since the epochal discoveries of Sigmund Freud began to make themselves felt. In the intervening time, some of his original concepts have been discarded and others modified but the basic thought has remained, that emotional forces, buried deep in the unconscious, are partly responsible for man's thoughts and behavior. In the last decade or so, great strides have been made in psychosomatic medicine, which is based on the theory that psychic states can affect the physical well-being. We know today that fluctuations in the sugar level among diabetics, high blood pressure without signs of physical damage to explain it, chronic headaches, gastric ulcers, allergies, enlargement of the thyroid, can all have an important psychic factor. At least 50 percent of all patients who consult a doctor have diseases partly or wholly psychosomatic in origin, and the majority of these can be cured, if proper harmony can be created between body and mind.

While we have learned to apply psychiatry to physical ills, we have also learned to apply physical medicine to mental disease. Insulin, metrazol and electric-shock treatments, as well as surgery of the frontal lobes of the brain, have served to link psychiatric problems with those of the anatomy of the nervous system. Possible physical clues are being studied for the origin of mental disease, including the baffling schizophrenia. Dr. Hudson Hoagland, of the Worcester, Massachusetts, Foundation for Experimental Biology, has discovered that in schizophrenics the pituitary gland, under stress, fails to stimulate the adrenal gland to pour an increased flow of adrenal cortical hormones into the blood. This fact may prove of tremendous importance in solving the riddle of schizophrenia.

The work just mentioned is part of the huge new research into the endocrine glands and their secretions. This is now medicine's most significant interest. Within less than two years, great strides have been made in many directions through the isolation and use of the adreno-cortico-trophic hormone, or ACTH, from the pituitary, and cortisone, which ACTH stimulates the adrenal cortex to produce. These newly isolated substances suppress the symptoms of a long series of diseases, beginning with rheumatoid arthritis. They are still extremely scarce and expensive, and they sometimes produce side effects—including, for instance, gross overweight, a changed facial expression, thickened necks, and increased hair growth on the faces of women patients. Nevertheless, they are opening a new world of knowledge, the result of which is bound to be valuable, whether these particular hormones continue to be used or not. Among the diseases whose symptoms they have suppressed are gout, rheumatic fever, asthma, acute alcoholism, and two dangerous eye conditions, uveitis and choroiditis.

Even in the field of cancer, medical news has been made. Speaking cautiously, and emphasizing that results as yet are temporary and incomplete, doctors at Memorial Hospital, New York City, report "dramatic and progressive decrease" of certain forms of cancer of the lymph glands, though in no case has complete clinical remission of the disease been obtained. Symptoms have also been arrested in a few cases of acute leukemia, a fatal ailment sometimes called "cancer of the blood."

As to cancer in general, its essential mystery still remains unsolved. The only recognized techniques continue to be surgery and irradiation with X-rays, radium or radioactive isotopes. A sure and simple means for early diagnosis is still urgently needed. Among the most promising techniques is that of Dr. Charles B. Huggins of the University of Chicago, based on the fact that blood from a cancer victim coagulates more slowly than that of healthy people when the serum is boiled in various dilutions.

Other important developments are the use of anti-folic-acid vitamin compounds in acute leukemia; work with Guanazolo, a chemical compound which checks certain types of cancer in mice; and a possible relation between fungi and cancer.

Far more deadly than cancer, as far as number is concerned, is heart disease. In 1948 it killed 323 persons per 100,000, an apparent increase of 11 percent over 1940. The US government is now subsidizing a

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This is the eighth of a series of articles reporting on some aspects of American civilization at the twentieth century's halfway mark.

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large-scale research program into heart disease. Some of the significant recent advances are the use of anti-coagulant drugs which retard the clotting of the blood; surgical treatment of congenital heart abnormalities like those of the "blue babies"; surgical methods for acute, purulent heart infections such as sometimes follow pneumonia; new techniques for removing foreign objects in or near the heart or the great blood vessels; prevention of recurring acute rheumatic fever, with penicillin or sulfa drugs; use of penicillin and other antibiotics in sub-acute bacterial endocarditis, formerly a fatal disease; and new general therapy for heart patients, who are now put back on their feet as soon as possible, and encouraged to take limited exercise. New research includes studies of diet, efforts to find chemical compounds for abnormally fast hearts, the study of the heart muscles, and radioiodine with which to treat hardening of the arteries.

Another great killer, tuberculosis, is being conquered by a variety of means. Mass X-rays of the chest, delicate surgery on the lungs, and the use of streptomycin have been chiefly responsible for recent advances. Combined with other drugs, streptomycin is even more effective, and a powerful agent. One of these other drugs is para-aminosalicylic acid, which can inhibit the growth of TB germs which have become resistant to streptomycin. Another is a powerful German drug, tibione, which holds great promise because it can be used over a longer period than streptomycin, and, given in combination with it, can delay the development of streptomycin-resistant bacilli.

There is an effective tuberculosis vaccine, BCG (Bacilli Calmette-Guerin), developed in 1923 by two French scientists. Widely used in other parts of the world, it has been accepted slowly in the United States until recently. Today, however, the American Trudeau Society has recommended its manufacture and use, under careful safeguards, for people unavoidably exposed to tuberculosis.

Poliomyelitis has increased dishearteningly in the past 15 years, and much of this increase has been in the adult population. There is, however, less resulting deformity and severe crippling than before, thanks to early diagnosis, well-trained workers, and more and better treatment. Research is being carried on into the causes and possible cures in more than 50 institutions, supported by the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis. While no cure has yet been found, some important facts have been established. Pregnancy increases the danger of polio; so does removal of tonsils and adenoids, for a period of about 30 days. Cases are more severe if the patient indulges in physical exertion during the very early stages. Conversely, attacks are lighter if there is bed rest early in the disease. In 1946, monkeys were successfully vaccinated against polio, but it is still too early to use vaccination on human beings, especially since there are a number of strains of polio virus, which are independent of each other.

The commonest of all diseases, the cold, is probably also one of the most baffling. Doctors at the National Institute of Health, Bethesda, Maryland, announced in 1947 that they had isolated the cold virus, incubated in chick embryos; but two years later it slipped away, either lost or so weakened that it no longer produced the symptoms. At Johns Hopkins a virus has also been isolated that produces colds in volunteer victims. These researches have thus far developed neither a vaccine nor a chemical for preventing or treating the ailment.

For about five years, anti-histamine drugs have been used to treat hayfever, asthma and other allergies. Late in 1949, they began to be advertised and sold publicly to prevent colds. Soon after the advertising began, the National Better Business Bureau protested the claims that were being made and the Federal Trade Commission said officially there was no warrant for the statement that "the anti-histamines can stop a cold." Since then, medical reports have on the whole been steadily more discouraging. Moreover, some of the anti-histamines cause drowsiness which could be dangerous to an individual driving a car or operating a factory machine. A few people get toxic reactions from them. But while scientists argued over the matter, the public flocked to the drug counters to run up sales to a possible $100 million annually.

A development of tremendous importance is, of course, the antibiotics. While penicillin still stands alone in this group in its over-all effectiveness, it has no influence on malaria, typhoid or yellow fever, tuberculosis or infantile paralysis. So the search for newer and better antibiotics goes on. Here are some of them:

¶ Aureomycin is effective against Rocky Mountain spotted fever and allied diseases, undulant fever, amoebic dysentery, shingles and primary atypical pneumonia.

¶ Chloromycetin is used against typhoid and undulant fevers, early syphilis and some of the ricksettsial group, such as Rocky Mountain spotted fever.

¶ Terramycin has had good results in a wide range of infections.

¶ Other new drugs range from Dramamine, the amazingly successful remedy for sea and air sickness, to Antabuse, which makes the taker so sensitive to alcohol that he stays sober long enough for psychotherapy to be used in the hope of a permanent cure. Slow but steady progress has been made in the treatment of leprosy with the new drugs, diasone and promin. Sufferers from pernicious anemia now get the same benefit

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from small doses of Vitamin B-12 formerly obtained from large daily amounts of liver. Several new drugs have proved effective against malaria, which attacks 300 million people each year and kills about three million.

The use of radioactive isotopes in medical research has been compared in importance to the invention of the microscope. Almost daily, such research adds to our store of knowledge, while in some cases these isotopes have definite therapeutic value which in general is like that of X-ray machines or radium.

By the use of radioactive isotopes we can learn the speed with which the blood flows through the four chambers of the heart. When it stagnates in any chamber, the doctors can assume that the heart is impaired and can take proper steps. Radioactive iron is teaching us much about anemia. Radioactive sodium reports on the circulation of the blood in the legs of diabetic individuals and warns of the danger of gangrene. It has also helped us to learn the role played by excess sodium, which in turn means excess water, in the tissues of patients with congestive heart failure.

The US Bureau of Vital Statistics believes that our general health is better than at any time since formal public records have been kept. The infant mortality rate in 1948 was only 31.8 per thousand live births—an enormous drop in a few decades. The maternal mortality rate was 1.1 per thousand, compared with four per thousand only eight years earlier. The general death rate was the lowest on record, 9.9 per thousand. The life expectancy for the entire population was 67 years, an increase of 18 years in two generations.

Research on the problem of aging is in progress in many places, and should have further beneficial results. It is true, however, that we have an increasing number of elderly people with varying degrees of mental and emotional incapacity; they are helping to overcrowd our hospitals and causing a shortage of facilities, especially in public institutions. Aside from state hospitals, the aged can be sent to commercial nursing homes—which offer a little more than shelter—or to homes for the aged, sponsored by fraternal organizations, which give custodial care but are deadly dull.

Dr. David A. Boyd of the Mayo Clinic has recommended a system of public psychiatric hospitals, supported by the state, which would give complete physical and psychological care to the aged. Husbands and wives would not be separated; those able to work would be given some employment. Probably such a plan would be cheaper than the present wasteful and haphazard system. The lives of the aged would be enriched, and the public mental hospitals would be able to return to their primary function, which is, after all, to treat the mentally ill.

A tremendous controversy is raging at present over what is loosely called "socialized medicine." President Truman's stand is supported by Federal Security Administrator Oscar R. Ewing with the argument that only 20 percent of the people can afford the medica' care they need. There are great disparities between the situation in one state and another; for example, the people of New York get three times as much hospital care as those of Mississippi; a baby in Massachusetts is two and a half times as likely to be born in a hospital as one in South Carolina; New Mexico's infant mortality rate is almost three times that of Connecticut. California has almost four times as many dentists as South Carolina; Connecticut has ten times as many nurses as Arkansas, per capita; and so on. The nation as a whole needs at least 20 percent more doctors.

The President's plan would provide a compulsory payroll tax on everybody covered by Social Security. This would pay the bills for doctors, dentists, nurses and hospitals. The federal government would collect the money and turn it over to the states to be disbursed, at the same time seeing that proper standards were maintained. Anybody who wished would still be free to go privately to any doctor he chose; no doctor would have to join the plan if he preferred not to. Substantial amounts would also be granted by the federal government to the states for public health service, care of mothers and children, care of the aged, industrial hygiene and training in medicine and allied skills.

Several alternative plans have been brought forward. One of them, sponsored by Senators Robert A. Taft, H. Alexander Smith and Forrest Donnell, would make federal grants to states to help pay medical, dental and hospital expenses for those unable to meet the whole cost. Senator Lister Hill and others have suggested state health agencies to pay the premiums on voluntary health-insurance plans, the federal government to bear part of the cost. The American Medical Association has its own plan which would expand government-sponsored research, schools to train doctors and nurses, rural health centers and industrial medicine. It recommends further encouragement of voluntary health-insurance plans.

Actually there is nothing new in the idea of government aid to health. We take for granted work to prevent epidemics, control infectious disease and do research. In 1947 the government paid out almost $2 billion to maintain federal hospitals and to give medical aid to states and municipalities. Through the Veterans Administration, more than 20 million veterans get free medical care. So do 1.5 million in the armed services and their 1.8 million dependents. So do 140,000 persons in state and federal prisons, and 300,000 Indians.

Health-insurance plans have grown rapidly in recent years. At least 50 million are now covered by some type of health insurance, and 60 million have hospital in-

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surance. Those who are without such protection are of course the poor, who need it most and to whom serious illness is a catastrophe. Administrator Ewing says that the cost of national health insurance would involve no major increased burden on the national economy, and argues that payroll deductions would merely offset the $6.5 billion already being spent on personal payments for illness. He feels this is a small price to pay if we can prevent a large part of the present annual loss of $27 billion through illness and partial or total disability.

Here the case of the nation's health rests. Both sides admit that while America has the best medicine in the world, not enough Americans enjoy its benefits. It seems clear that the high standards now available for part of our people must be extended to everyone, at a minimum cost. The average American is looking for a change. From where he sits, the change that is indicated seems pretty clearly to be some form of government health insurance that provides widespread medical care at low cost.

KOREA AND AMERICAN WORLD POLICY

by Harold R. Isaacs

KOREA OFFERS us another harsh opportunity to see the new shape of the world as it really is. For the second time in a decade, Americans, almost myopically concerned with the affairs of Europe, have had to wrench themselves around to fight a war in Asia. There they find themselves caught in what are still, for most of our people, the remoteness and obscurity of Asian politics, Asian aspirations, attitudes and problems, Asian conflicts.

The lesson, up to now stubbornly unlearned, is that our future and the future of the world are wrapped up primarily in Asia. We have been acting since 1945 as if the small European peninsula dangling on the western end of the Eurasian continent was still the area of main decision. Now abruptly we find ourselves crucially involved in bloody and difficult hostilities on another small peninsula far across on the other side of Eurasia, a conflict for which the United States was unprepared militarily and politically.

As a result, the state of affairs and the attitudes in the surrounding countries of Asia are suddenly no longer a matter of peripheral interest but become vitally important. Now American missions take off hastily to line up allies for "our" side and they are discovering that as a result of the accumulated events of the last five years, a great many people there are wondering whether the United States is on "their" side.

Americans are quite convinced of their own virtue and good intentions in the world generally and particularly in Korea, where the fact of Communist aggression is plain, and where American unpreparedness offers it own costly refutation of the Russian charge of American aggression. But for many Asians, American action in Korea cannot be divorced from American world policy as a whole, and American policy in Asia in particular. This policy, past and present, has by no means their approval or support. To Asians involved in profound and often convulsive revolutionary change, the United States has seemed too long to be the citadel of conservative power, a supporter of the old order represented by the dying empires of Europe, or a supporter of the new nationalism only in its most conservative form, or, at worst, a would-be successor to the imperial mantle. Whatever its merits, the impression is a formidable fact.

It explains why India hesitated before finally deciding to distinguish between supporting UN action in Korea as such, and supporting American policy generally (and in Formosa and Indo-China specifically). It would be difficult to imagine any more grossly inaccurate interpretation of India's behavior than that offered in a recent New York *Times* article by Arthur Krock, who cited the American promise of anti-Communist action in Viet Nam as the factor that finally won Prime Minister Nehru's approval. That American promise is, in fact, the source of India's deepest misgivings and suspicions and the Indian decision was made, not because, but in spite of it.

This impression of the United States also explains why the Indonesians, anxious as they are for American friendship and for support of the UN, cannot help but draw the obvious contrast between the resolute American reaction to Communist aggression in Korea and the highly irresolute American reaction to Dutch aggression in Indonesia in 1947 and 1948, still so fresh in Indonesian minds and still with them in the form of aggravated internal political and economic problems.

The linking of American action in Korea with American action in Formosa, equivocal as the latter still is, is another disability. Most of the new nationalist regimes in South Asia are anti-Communist and some are actually or potentially reactionary. But this gives them no reason to feel any sympathy for Chiang Kai-shek or the Formosa remnant of the Kuomintang government. They see Communist China as a formidable neighbor with whom they cannot afford to clash.

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These attitudes may change, and may already be changing, as the aggressive content of the Communist power drive becomes plainer. But here a further factor intrudes. The Communist power drive carries with it a dynamic approach to fundamental social and economic problems. The promptness with which the North Koreans instituted their drastic land-reform program in the conquered areas of South Korea is an impressive fact for many Asians, more impressive possibly than the fact of military aggression. This kind of dynamism has not yet appeared in any form under American sponsorship or among the conservative nationalist politicians inclined to be friendly to the United States. This undermines their ability to carry their countries with them into an alliance with the United States even when the leaders, as individuals, might desire to do so. If the American fight against Communist aggression can be successfully twisted into a fight against needed revolutionary change, the outcome is a foregone conclusion regardless of episodic military decisions.

On the issue of Viet Nam, Asian misgivings are even more plainly rooted in the basic Asian drive to see an end to all forms of foreign domination. After five years of condoning French action against nationalism in Indo-China, of failure to encourage and support the strong non-Communist nationalist movement that commanded overwhelming popular support in the country, the French and the Americans between them have now completed the job of driving that nationalist movement into the arms of the Communists. Belatedly intervening in Viet Nam, the United States has allied itself with a French army and with a French puppet regime that has not been given even the appearance of political independence. For Asian nationalists, such an alliance is an unholy one, whatever and whoever is on the other side. It tends only to confirm for them the impression, sedulously cultivated by the Communists, that anti-Communism is identical with pro-imperialism. This impression, with its grain of truth, obviously has a profound effect on nationalists everywhere. The argument that the Communists simply substitute Russian domination for Western domination may seem conclusive in America or in Europe, but it does not impress Asians to whom Russia has successfully presented itself as the champion of colonial peoples against their imperialist masters. What experience may teach them later on is another matter, but in no case will it ever teach them that Western domination in any form was worth preserving.

Certainly they have no sense of championship of their interests in the Western camp. Only last May, at the Foreign Ministers Conference, Britain, France and the United States discussed and decided Asian matters without considering or consulting any South Asian governments. Resentment of this was made explicit a few weeks later at the Asian conference at Baguio, in the Philippines, where a sharp reminder was given to the Western powers that when they talked about Asia they would be wise to talk with Asia. Similarly, in UN councils on colonial matters, mainly affecting Africa, the colonial powers have shown little change from past attitudes and the American position has vacillated between half-support and ineffectual half-opposition. At London, the United States all but explicitly underwrote the surviving colonial positions of the European powers in Africa.

The failure of confidence goes deeper. For these countries trying to lift themselves out of the debris of empire, the road to the future lies either along the path of democratic development aided and nourished by large-scale Western assistance given on a non-exploitative basis, or down the totalitarian path of development based on mass enslavement. Their problems will not wait. They are forced to move and they are subject to all the overwhelming global pressures of the world power conflict at the same time.

In the last few years it has become increasingly plain that the kind and quantity of Western aid needed to encourage democratic development would simply not be forthcoming. The United States has poured billions into Europe, scarcely anything into Asia, and then aid has been offered only at the most critical points of the power conflict itself. Private capital, incapable of doing the job on the scale needed, has abdicated. Public capital has not been made available. Point Four, an idea that touched the heart of the problem, has been reduced to the pathetic proportions of a small gesture, which has forced many a thoughtful Asian to begin resigning himself to the totalitarian prospect.

Racialism is another important issue. American racialism stands as a solid barrier in the path of any decent, outgoing and outgiving feeling of confident friendship on the part of Asians (or Africans) for the United States. Racialist feeling flows deep in Asians; it provided the wellsprings of much of the recent nationalist upheaval. Out of instinctive wisdom, Asians keep it moderated, but it is hardly ever absent from their reactions to people and to international political issues. American racialism, South African racialism, and the remembered superiority patterns of the British, French and Dutch haunt the West in its unfolding struggle with Russian totalitarianism. Russia has largely succeeded in creating the feeling that whatever other drawbacks the Russian system might entail, it is not infected with racial discrimination. For countless Asians and Africans, this outweighs everything else.

Such are some of the main factors that surround the issue that has been drawn in Korea. They are not new.

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Korea gives us a chance, perhaps, to see them in a new light, and, late as it is, to begin to act accordingly. The reorientation of American world policy that they strongly suggest would have to be based on the following propositions:

¶ We must free ourselves of the drag of Europe-mindedness in making world policy and prevent European considerations from hamstringing our action in relation to Asia and Africa. The need is not to abandon Europe but to strike a new balance in which Europe has shrunk from major to minor size.

¶ Consult closely henceforth on every policy development with the countries of South Asia. Respect their profound desire to avoid, if they can, involvement in the power struggle. But at the same time help them see that their freedom will be preserved only if they are strong and that they will be strong only if they pursue the most dynamic kind of internal reform program. Offer them, in this process, every possible aid. On such a basis, military coöperation, where needed, may be possible. On any other basis it will be either wholly absent or largely useless.

¶ See the French-Bao Dai involvement in Viet Nam as a liability, the fruit of past errors for which losses now have to be taken. Military involvement here will be more difficult than in Korea. As in Korea, the combination of unfavorable strategic factors and alliance with a wholly unpopular army and regime can only result in disaster. As the Communist hand tightens on the nationalist movement, we even now may still be able to win support from non-Communist nationalists if we make unequivocally plain that we are committed to help them put an end to French rule and control. We half-reached in this direction last spring to take the curse off the espousal of the puppet Bao Dai, but then drew back from this position under French pressure.

¶ One chance which may now be worth exploring is consultation with the South Asian nations for a joint initiative, with UN participation and sanction, to prevent the extension of the war in Indo-China by arranging complete French withdrawal, establishing a UN-supervised peace and setting up machinery under which, in due course, the Vietnamese people will have an opportunity in a free and supervised election to name a government of their own choice. But we have to be prepared to take the losses that have been earned in Viet Nam. We have to concentrate the most dynamic kind of policy effort in the surrounding countries to contain those losses. We must understand that if we try to fight a war in Viet Nam we will suffer nothing but defeat, whatever the course of the military operations themselves.

¶ Undercut Russian calculations by boldly switching on the issue of admitting Communist China to the UN. Russia has more and more clearly been concerned with keeping China from establishing any contacts of its own with the West and keeping it tightly laced into the Russian sphere. The admittance of Communist China at this time will put the Russians back on the political defensive and strengthen the proof that Russia alone will be responsible for the final breakup of the UN now in view. It will throw fuel on the Russian-Chinese antagonism, or at least difference, which certainly exists no matter how far below the surface it still lies.

¶ Shift ground radically on colonial matters, especially regarding Africa, and act accordingly in the appropriate councils of the UN. Convince the European nations that their colonial policies are self-defeating. Expand Point Four and see it linked with effective internal reforms in every country where it is applied. In colonies see to it that the program is made the device through which the people themselves are given an important voice in its operations.

¶ Take a strong position, internally and externally, on the issue of racial discrimination. See, for example, the defeat or shelving of the FEPC as a major defeat for foreign policy, and the friendship of the racialist South African government as worthless if it costs us the friendship of the African people (as well as the confidence of India and Pakistan), who are deeply concerned with South African racialism.

Such would be the elements in a policy that would look at the world as it is and not as it was. A policy like this is needed if the further course of the struggle against totalitarianism is to have any hope in it for a fruitful and democratic outcome. If the Korean episode, and those that will certainly follow, drive American policy farther down the road of complete concentration on military factors, the results, win or lose, in the end will serve only the interests of totalitarianism.

After 1945, the United States allowed the Atlantic Charter, taken literally by millions of Asians and Africans, to become a scrap of paper as far as Asia and Africa were concerned. The cost of this haunts us now. It will haunt us in more troubled times to come. The losses from it may, in fact, be irretrievable. Nevertheless we have to try to retrieve if we value our future. We have to act to associate ourselves in fact, not in words alone, with the desire of people for a better future, with the support of revolutionary change wherever it is needed and wherever people seek it. We have to wrest the monopoly of change from the Russian totalitarians and make it possible on democratic rather than totalitarian terms. The alternative is a lapse into sterile militarism, bootless sacrifice and the indefinite extension of our epoch of permanent war.

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HAROLD L. ICKES: *McCarthy Strips Himself*

BUMBLING, BABBLING Joe McCarthy with his own hands has so stripped himself of the few rags of decency that he possessed that, intellectually and morally, he stands hideously nude before the American people, some of whom came to cheer, but all of whom remained to jeer. For almost four months, a Senate subcommittee, under the chairmanship of Senator Tydings of Maryland, had been investigating the recklessly mendacious charges made by McCarthy that either 205 or 57 (take your choice!) Communist Party members were employed in the State Department. The wild man of Wisconsin was not able to prove a single case. He had promised that he would repeat his charges on an occasion when he would not be hiding behind his Congressional immunity. Again he lied. Cornered like a rat, he snarled that Owen Lattimore, a distinguished Johns Hopkins professor, was "one of the top Communist agents in this country"; he would stand or fall on this charge. These were additional lies, as even Senator Lodge, who declined to sign the committee report, attested in a separate statement.

No wonder that the Tydings subcommittee adopted a report, which was subsequently accepted by the Senate, that McCarthy's charges were "a fraud, a hoax, and a deceit." They were all of this and much more. It was a pleasant experience to see Senator Tydings throw his not inconsiderable weight on the side of truth and fairness in a Senatorial investigation.

That, from the beginning to the present, McCarthy has lied shamelessly, unblushingly and repeatedly has been amply proved. This performance has probably been the most shocking exhibition in the history of the Senate. Senators have been unseated for an improper use of money to elect themselves; at least one has been convicted for practising law before government departments; others have committed election frauds; but in none of these instances has the offender been guilty of smearing respected and loyal citizens without a shred of evidence. No lie detector has been needed to prove a mendacity that has outdone even Goebbels. In his attempt to make political capital for himself, there have been no depths to which McCarthy would not allow himself to sink. He has disgraced the Senate, he has disgraced his state, and he has degraded his party.

When the Tydings subcommittee finding, with the approval of the Foreign Relations Committee, was presented to the Senate, not a single Republican Senator —not even the none-too-scrupulous Bridges or Wherry —rose to defend McCarthy. However, all were willing to play politics by interposing parliamentary motions, any one of which, if carried, would have dimmed the full force and effect of the Tydings finding. Nor did any Senator of either party rise to Tydings' suggestion that they "search their consciences"—probably a suggestion for needed punitive action. Fortunately for the reputation of the Republican Party, McCarthyism has been repudiated by such outstanding men as Henry L. Stimson, former Secretary of State and War; and Governors Driscoll of New Jersey, Duff of Pennsylvania, and Warren of California.

As suggested by me in a previous discussion of McCarthyism, the ex-gentleman from Wisconsin should be expelled from the Senate if that body wishes longer to be regarded by the people with respect. At the very least, he should be strongly censured. His Republican colleagues should be made to show where they stand. He has already done incalculable injury to his country, and there would have been no limit to the harm that he seemed willing to do if a majority of the subcommittee—Senators Tydings, Green and McMahon—had not courageously exposed McCarthyism for what it is—a putrescent and scabious object that is obnoxious to the senses of sight, smell and hearing—a thing obscene and loathsome, and not to be touched, except with sterilized fire tongs. McCarthy's offenses against the people, his disregard of the ordinary decencies of life, could not have been anticipated at the time he was elected. The Wisconsin voters cannot now reach him. But his offenses have been committed in the smelling range of the Senators, and it is plainly their duty to "search their consciences."

The Senate should not stop at this inconclusive point. An investigation of McCarthy himself is called for—his stock-market gambling; his failure to pay income taxes, thus increasing the burden of others; the source and amounts of the moneys spent by him during his campaign and in his reckless attempt to destroy loyal government employees and citizens; his connection with the Lustron Corporation; the background of the payment by the corporation to him, a United States Senator, of $10,000; his connection with the China Lobby; his violation of the Wisconsin Constitution, etc. In his effort to smear others for base political purposes, McCarthy in effect has smeared the Senate. What is the Senate going to do about it? In deciding what the answer is to this question, the Senate should bear in mind that probably the greatest aid and comfort to the Politburo in the recent past has been this same Joe McCarthy, who himself is a serious security risk, if there ever was one.

HAROLD L. ICKES

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

THE BELATED DISCOVERY OF SOUTHEAST ASIA

by Walter L. Briggs

Not much has been written, by Americans at least, about Southeast Asia. Our writers, like our government, have been too little interested in this remote tropical region with a population about equal to that of the United States. But recently there was a war out there; now there is a cold war out there and interest in Southeast Asia is awakening. All at once, four books are available.

It would be satisfying to report that these four contribute solidly to our understanding of the many problems besetting the area and our relationship to it, but that, unfortunately, is not the case. One of the books, Bruno Lasker's inquiry into labor conditions, is worth serious study. The rest are as marked with flaws of misunderstanding as American policy itself.

HUMAN BONDAGE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, by Bruno Lasker (University of North Carolina Press; $6).

THE STAKES OF DEMOCRACY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, by Dr. H. J. van Mook (W. W. Norton; $3.75).

THE LEFT WING IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, by Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff (William Sloane; $4).

HALF OF ONE WORLD, by Foster Hailey (Macmillan; $3).

Lasker's work is the long and painstaking document of a scholar. "If we wish to coöperate with them [the peoples of Southeast Asia] for a free world," he writes, "we must try to know much more about them." Why they are now rebelling cannot be understood solely from the headlines. "One cannot ascertain the causes of the Indonesian revolution by studying the war record of its leaders, or understand the uprising of the Karens in Burma by considering only their immediate grievances."

Hunting for the causes, Lasker delves into the past.

"Imperialism" is not a concept that moves the masses to revolt. Neither is "nationalism." And of course not "Communism." The uprising of large sections of the population in the region against their rulers makes sense only when we view it as the outcome of pervading discontent, and that discontent rooted not alone in recent experience but in a long and hitherto unsuccessful striving of men for freedom and decent respect.

Imperialism has contributed, of course, to the urge to revolt. The Indonesian masses are well aware, for example, that their security and well-being were sacrificed for an illusory colonial prosperity that did not reach the villages.

Lasker considers slavery, serfdom and peonage, debt bondage, compulsory public services, and labor relations in modern enterprise. Legislation has gone far toward eradicating the most degrading forms of involuntary servitude, though some actual slavery still exists. But legislation, he warns, does not necessarily insure tolerable conditions.

The prospect of being once more dominated by men of their own race rather than foreigners does not satisfy the people. The popular demands—sometimes disguised in terms of alien ideologies—are centered on freedom of a higher order.

For three years, as lieutenant governor-general of Indonesia, Dr. H. J. van Mook wrangled with the nationalists of the islands. He initiated war against them. The moments of chief interest in his book are such behind-the-scenes glimpses as one finds in the memoirs of a Hopkins or a Stimson, though Dr. van Mook supplies far less detail. His scope is broad; he offers a sort of primer on the countries of the region.

There is a curious incongruity about Dr. van Mook. I remember sitting with him in Jakarta, listening to his sympathetic words on Indonesian nationalist aspirations, and at the same time being fed the most venomous appraisals of the characters, motives and methods of the native leaders. The fact was that he and his fellow colonials considered granting independence only in their own time and in their own way.

The author's sentiments echo those of the governor. "The cover of Western domination had worn thin" in Southeast Asia even before World War II, van Mook writes. But political emancipation should have come gradually. He excuses the first "police action" as necessary, in his view, to achieve law and order; but many competent observers testified that there was more of that in the Republican than in the Dutch areas.

To be sure, independence should have come gradually. We see the chaos that has swept Burma with the abrupt British withdrawal. Further turmoil may be expected in Indonesia. But the start should have been made long ago; by the 40s it was too late for instruction in elementary civics. Dr. van Mook himself says: "The fulfilment of that promise was too often postponed. . . ."

What does this former colonial say of the future? Western assistance "must be available and acceptable to them in voluntary association during the formative years of their independence, if they are to survive as free peoples and to be saved for the non-totalitarian family of nations." But: ". . . we cannot contribute . . . if we look upon them as pawns in the cold war or as objects for exploitation in a suitably revised way." Most authorities on Southeast Asia would heartily agree.

Then comes special pleading that is pertinent to the forthcoming Point Four and Economic Coöperation Administration programs for the region. Executive personnel should be recruited from countries that are in "special relationship" with these Asian lands, he writes. Why so? Assuming that the experts were of equal caliber, would an Indonesian prefer a Dutchman to an American? Would a Vietnamese prefer a Frenchman to a Briton? There have been decades of hate.

The survey of left-wing movements in Southeast Asia by Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff is well-intentioned. But it is too stodgy and limited in scope for a reader lacking regional

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background, and too sketchy for a specialist.

The authors say that Moscow's contacts with local Communist parties "appear to be of so rudimentary a nature as to indicate that Southeast Asia has not yet been assigned a very high priority on the USSR's agenda of world revolution." Nevertheless, "poorly organized, indifferently disciplined, and inadequately led as they are, the Communists of Southeast Asia still form the strongest and most aggressive parties in the area."

Foster Hailey's book is a brief jaunt through the countries in question, and through several other Asian lands, too. His report is based on service in the Pacific as a war correspondent, a six-month visit to Asia a year after V-J Day, and extensive reading. Time is racing in Asia, and many conditions and attitudes have changed since he was there.

The author repeats Lasker's point that exploitation "was not something the white conquerors of the Far East imported." But he is far too ready to accept at face value the words of nationalist leaders about changing these conditions. Of Ho Chi-minh and his fellows, for example, Hailey says: "Their program is democratic." Reliable reports from behind the French lines indicate that the Viet Nam Republic, as ruthlessly regimented as any other Communist state, is anything but.

Let us hope that this spate of books on Southeast Asia promises more for the future. Relatively few Americans are informed on Southeast Asia, and if any US program is to succeed there, we must gain the knowledge of which Lasker writes.

Walter L. Briggs has spent seven years in the Orient as special correspondent for the Chicago Sun-Times and the Christian Science Monitor and correspondent for the United Press.

ARISTOCRAT OF GOD

DIARY OF A DEAN, by the Very Reverend W. R. Inge (Macmillan; $3.50).

ON JUNE 6 of this year Dr. Inge, the former Dean of St. Paul's, celebrated his ninetieth birthday. During his long period in office (1911 to 1934) he was, to the ordinary man and woman—for whom the English Church survives only on its personalities—the best-known ecclesiastic in the country: even today there are few who do not know his name. This popularity is curious, for as Dean he had few popular qualities. He was a scholar: most of his life had been spent at one of the older universities, and no one is more sheltered from contemporary problems than the don. He preached to full churches, yet few listeners can have gained much from his dry, cerebral, academic philosophy. His somber views on the future were based on a dislike of the greater part of his audience—all, at any rate, who did not belong to the cultured and moneyed aristocracy. As a writer and speaker he was arrogant and venomous, lashing out, often, at those who were not in a position to reply. For all this—or perhaps because of this—he was the darling of the press, a favorite guest of diplomats and city magnates, a national character, indeed, and we open his Diary, begun on the eve of one great war and ended on the eve of another, with expectation.

It is, nevertheless, a disappointment. Perhaps the public character has assimilated the private one; at all events the one face is very much like the other; a little less noble; hardly more likable. In his personal life the Dean was more than content. He was exceptionally happy, as we read, in his marriage (a late one) and in his five children, of whom this book contains some charming photographs. In his role as father he is, not unnaturally, at his most genial; he writes beautifully of his wife and of the son and daughter who died. This tenderness stops abruptly at the walls of his home.

The chief substance of the Diary, however, is the record of social occasions—dull stuff for readers outside the Dean's circle, yet mischievous, too, for it is on the table-talk of these gatherings that the Dean bases his dogmatic political utterances. He is, for instance, so little acquainted with the effects of unemployment in the twenties that he can concur in Cardinal Bourne's description of the 1926 General Strike as "a sin against God." His ignorance of the causes and the course of the Spanish Civil War leads to some extraordinary statements from a man of supposedly logical temper. In the pre-1939 years of the Hitler regime we find him entertaining the German Ambassador on the friendliest of terms. He even thought British neutrality possible in the recent war.

No, this is not one of the great diaries. Yet, by reason of its time and the unique vantage point of its author, it is not an insignificant one. The several photographs (not, though, the bad painting by de Laszlo which provides the frontispiece) reveal in the handsome, bored, sardonic prelate's face both the non-conforming theologian and the social reactionary. Ancestry and environment, not spiritual temperament, have made this cynical philosopher a divine. Curiously enough, it is for his antipathies—if we happen to share them—that we may like him best. (They include music, uncontrolled breeding, church ceremonial, Catholics, democracy, marriage reform, religious earnestness, and the workingman.) Alas for the Diarist—the intellectual distinction which he so greatly values is not, and has not been for a long time, centered in the social group of which he is so insistent a voice. Is this one of the ironies that the ironic Dean would be capable of savoring? NAOMI LEWIS

Naomi Lewis, English writer and broadcaster, is a literary critic for the New Statesman and Nation and the Sunday Observer in London.

SO MANY SAROYANS

THE TWIN ADVENTURES: The Adventures of William Saroyan, a Diary; The Adventures of Wesley Jackson, a Novel, by William Saroyan (Harcourt, Brace; $3).

THE ASSYRIAN AND OTHER STORIES, by William Saroyan (Harcourt, Brace; $3.50).

DON'T GO AWAY MAD AND OTHER PLAYS, by William Saroyan (Harcourt, Brace; $3.75).

FOR SO UNINHIBITED and unreticent a writer, William Saroyan has done a remarkably inadequate job to date of making himself understood. The more he has tried to explain his work, the more he has revealed his lack of self-awareness as a writer. This is strikingly apparent in the diary he has recently published—an hour-by-hour account of "the adventures of William Saroyan" (in London in 1944) while writing his Army novel, *The Adventures of Wesley Jackson.*

It doesn't seem possible that anyone, much less the dynamic Saroyan, could write so much about himself and remain

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so colorless in the process; and one wonders if it was not perhaps a kind of whimsy (Private Saroyan being thoroughly aware of his anonymity as a private) which made him fill 225 pages with only the most unimportant details: the endless, methodical scheduling of his novel (which he wrote in exactly a month, as planned), the alternate feelings of elation and fatigue, the wartime food, the all but routine visits to the opera, the ballet, the poolroom, etc., etc. It is only in an occasional remark —about his feeling for a beggar, or the little, undernourished children of London, or the meaningless meaning of the war—that we glimpse the submerged personality of the artist. Saroyan's cynical feeling toward the Army, so baldly expressed in *Wesley Jackson*, becomes understandable when we see how the urgent realities of the war had completely put him out of his element; unable suddenly to cope with the facts around him, he seemed to find even writing a drudgery which must be done under the compulsion of schedules.

The real Saroyan comes through far more clearly in two other recently published volumes. Instead of filling his prefaces with the usual braggadocio, he has for the first time accompanied his stories and plays with some revealing bits of self-analysis.

"Everything I write, everything I have ever written is allegorical. . . . I myself am a product of Asia Minor, hence the allegorical and the real are closely related in my mind," he says at one point. This confession challenges the two most frequent objections of his critics: his childlike denial of evil and his totally unrealistic approach to characterization.

Allegory, we are reminded (other examples in the modern theatre are the plays of O'Casey, Bertold Brecht and Eliot), does not pretend to show all of reality but only to illumine one aspect of it, and the aspect Saroyan has chosen, and continues to choose, despite his growing awareness that "staying alive is what's tragic," is the unexpected human resources for doing good. Nor does allegory attempt to achieve more with characters than to present various facets of humanity. When confusion enters Saroyan's works, both for the reader and the writer himself, it is because he adds to allegory an element that we associate more with poetry than prose: a surface illogic that is the result of his almost complete dependence on *emotional* truth.

Recently, this technically difficult aspect of his writing has figured more in his plays than his stories—which is probably why one finds him more successful in his short stories. Saroyan is still the master of the fablelike tale, and is at his best in *The Assyrian* when he is writing about the natural wisdom of childhood. There is less laughter than usual, less characteristic spoofing in such stories as "The Parsley Garden" and "The Pheasant Hunter," but they are unmistakably touched with Saroyanesque poignance—that ability to create not children but the child-mood, the child-experience.

Turning from this simpler, "safer" (as he calls it) kind of story, Saroyan finds himself faced with a new desperate awareness of human loneliness and impotence. Like the Saroyan of the Diary, "the beautiful people" are no longer talking poetry and singing hymns of joy; they are more knowing, more "adult," the magic all drawn out of them by success or failure and an urban-induced isolation. "The Assyrian" is the story of a successful writer who has failed as a human being ("The Poet at Home" reverses the situation), caught as all men are among the infinite choices offered by life. Representative of a race that is dying out, himself close to death, the Assyrian is nevertheless above pity in his avid desire for life and infinite capacity for experience.

Saroyan's concept of goodness, once synonymous with love and gratitude, has become linked with man's tenacity, his will to live. And because this new optimism has a firmer basis in fact and bears out a dramatic element in life, his plays, with all their fantasy, have grown in plausibility. "Don't Go Away Mad" is a tender little allegory showing how man puts off the fear of death by illusions, hatred, pride, friendship and, mostly, curiosity.

With all its strange assortment of characters, surrealistic stage effects and constant changes of mood, "Sam Ego's House" is probably most typical of Saroyan's theatre. But in this, and also in the other plays, the casual, expressionistic manner has been replaced by a clearly defined symbolism. More unexpected still, irony has replaced the spontaneous humor: "A Decent Birth, a Happy Funeral" ends with the staging of a gay funeral which sets out literally to show that death for those who have known how to live is nothing as compared with the anxieties of uninspired existence.

Saroyan's outlook seems to have taken a Shavian turn (and not surprisingly, since Shaw is the one writer he admires). But with one important difference, that Saroyan's faith in the Life Force does not stem from dialectic but from his intuitive feeling of the ultimate meaning of things and events. And this is quite a different kind of "adventure" from what either Private Saroyan or Wesley Jackson himself—dealing with immediate realities—ever had.

NONA BALAKIAN

Nona Balakian is on the editorial staff of the New York Times Book Review.

ART IN RUSSIA

RUSSIAN IMPACT ON ART, by Mikhail Alpatov. Edited, with a Preface, by Martin L. Wolf. Translated by Ivy Litvinov (Philosophical Library; $7.50).

ART AS WELL as utility has played a prominent part in the construction of the beautiful Moscow subway. The striking murals, statuary and variegated architectural designs of the marble-walled stations are intended to prove to the world that under Soviet socialism art must be an essential component of the machine age. But the artistic décor of the subway, sometimes excessive and blatant in this setting, is also a curious reminder of an abiding sense of inferiority in national artistic accomplishment. Whatever the widespread recognition accorded Russian nineteenth-century literature, music, and perhaps the ballet and theatre, for generations native specialists have been on the defensive concerning Russian achievements in architecture, painting and sculpture. And it is true that these aspects have won little notice from art historians abroad. To redress this situation, Mikhail Alpatov, a professor at Moscow University and a recognized expert on European art in general, has written a book that attempts to prove that in all

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divisions of art Russia has contributed monuments comparable to the best in Western Europe and worthy of a distinguished place in the history of world art. The book has been effectively introduced by Martin L. Wolf and translated into easy, readable English by Ivy Litvinov. The lack of a copy of the original in this country prevented the reviewer from passing on the faithfulness of the English text, but he can say that the proofreading leaves much to be desired.

Professor Alpatov goes about his task in a unique way. The book is not a history of Russian art; it is a survey of the principal contributions from the Middle Ages to 1917, in the course of which numerous analytical comparisons are made to the historically relevant monuments of Western Europe. Professor Alpatov's rich knowledge of the art of the West, as well as of his own country, makes these comparisons extremely meaningful and at the same time illuminates many hidden matters concerning the origins, inspiration and techniques of Russian art. Through his efforts the reader obtains fresh perspectives and a deeper sense of appreciation of the total artistic accomplishments of early Russian icon painting and architecture, of the portraitists, historical and landscape painting, and the architecture, music and sculpture of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Despite a manifest desire to be objective in appraising the contributions of Rusian art in the light of those of the West, Professor Alpatov tends to defeat his own thesis by falling into the hopelessly defensive and chauvinistic attitude of so many Russian historians of art. The greatest of them, Igor Grabar, felt compelled in his monumental *History of Russian Art* to write: "To the question—has there ever been great art in Russia?—we are entitled, without the slightest hesitation, to reply, 'yes, there has!' " Similarly, Alpatov continually insists on greatness and originality where there have been largely mediocrity and imitation, whereas the obviously great contributions he takes more or less for granted.

The error that he has to contend with —and which he does much to correct— is an old one: the rooted belief in the West, based on equally rooted ignorance, that from the Middle Ages to the early years of the nineteenth century Russia's was an entirely backward civilization which had nothing of worth to contribute to world culture, and that thereafter its contributions in painting, sculpture and architecture were of no consequence. This error rests on the belief that over these centuries Russian culture was entirely derivative, borrowing freely from Byzantium and the West. The fact of extensive borrowing and imitation is historically correct, though it is a fact that Alpatov strives in every way to minimize. However, it is also true that throughout this long period there were many occasions in which Russian artists rose above mere imitation and created art original in form and content and suffused with an entirely Russian spirit. In pointing out these occasions the author rendered a service to the history of Russian art.

In an effort to define the native characteristics in the whole complex of Russian art, Alpatov has woven into the fabric of his story the contributions of Russia's great writers, viewing them in Soviet fashion against the background of political, social and ideological developments of the separate historical periods. In this task he reflects the present curious Soviet "line" of "rehabilitating" Russian history. It is almost shocking to find a Soviet specialist writing of the religious heretic Avvakum that "he lived both in Moscow and in the remotest parts of the country," without once mentioning that he was exiled to those "remotest parts" of Siberia and was executed by order of the Czar; or writing of progressives such as Radishchev and Novikov without indicating that they were persecuted by the government; or describing favorably the "simplicity of morals and manners" of the eighteenth-century landed gentry without a word concerning their oppressive behavior to their serfs.

In fact, so swiftly do ideological "lines" change in the Soviet Union that this book would in all probability be condemned there today. Though the book was apparently written shortly after the war, it must have been published before the new "line" against "cosmopolitanism" and all condescension to the culture of the West, which was announced in August, 1946. For to overlook a description of Belinsky, the first intellectual socialist in Soviet eyes, as an adherent to "the advanced culture of the West"—and there are many such "sins" in Alpatov's book—would nowadays cost any dozing Soviet censor his job.

ERNEST J. SIMMONS

Ernest J. Simmons, author of many books on Slavic literature, is Executive Officer of the Department of Slavic Languages at Columbia University, and professor of Russian Literature at its Russian Institute.

BRIEF COMMENT

The Circle of the Day, by Helen Howe (Simon and Schuster; $3).

This novel is not much more than an extended short story, which deals with a situation that, unsolvable in the morning, becomes solvable that evening—by the old process of looking the bony facts in the face. A competent treatment of sixteen hours in the well-run life of a fashionable New York matron, after she has discovered that her perfect marriage also is stalked by the ghost of infidelity, it provides us with a running view of the conventional heart in crisis. That is the fault of this light work—the edges of the heart are seen too crisply.

Stanford Short Stories. Edited by Wallace Stegner (Stanford Univ. Press; $3).

Most of these eighteen stories show a good deal of technical skill and many of them train, with an honesty that is serious and convincing, on some cold and unpleasant aspects of our social order—*cf.*, "The Big Grey Picnic," by Harry Muheim; "The Flimsy Walls," by C. W. Parker; "The Grass on the Other Side," by Leslie Smith. Other stories, such as "Big Chlorinda, Happy Chlorinda," by P. H. Lowery, and "The Cannibal Pot," by Maxwell Arnold, go at more private networks of association, collecting a great deal of ironical data on some of the more

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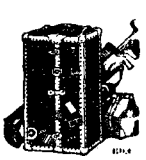

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New Republic

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distorted manners of the private life. On the whole, this crop of postwar writers seems less interested in graces of style and turns of phrase than in what ought to be said. And said as seriously and openly as possible.

The Company of Men, by Romain Gary (Simon and Schuster, $3; Readers' Edition, $1).

We have seen them in the Italian movies—those nimble, astute children, educated by the war. Unnaturally wise in business methods, swindling more shrewdly on the black market than the adults, aping the gangsters of the American movies, they were the Younger Generation blasting the door open with dynamite.

This novel deals with the same wake of wild boys—"orphans of the state"—in France, during that postwar interim when living conditions had arrived at a kind of classic hopelessness. There have been other French novels on the same theme, but *The Company of Men*, taking off from the hard-boiled American novel, arrives at a kind of brilliant freedom and boldness, combining realism with a delicacy of fantasy and imagination that makes for an exhilarating effect. Certain techniques, too—the way the short scene is focused upon, given a wring or twist, and then dropped, its barbed point still quivering—bring to mind the movie technique at its brightest—Chaplin here, Jean Vigo in France.

The first-person narration gives it another kind of leeway. Told by a young kid, twelve when his record begins, seventeen at the end when he is ready to join the company of men, the style is appropriately direct, slangy and bold. Getting around as he does, in stolen cars, acquainted with all the better people of the new underground, his "book" is a report on a society temporarily split down so many centers that a kind of totality of nihilism is about the most honest and realistic viewpoint that can be taken. Everybody, at least, talks that way. There are all kinds of set speeches delivered—by Vanderputte, the horrible old man who sends his "children" out on jobs; by various state robbers; by Darlington, the decadent actor, supported by his wife who runs a house of prostitution; and other incidental characters. Their theme is: Well, what has become of us; what has become of the concept of man? And who are we? Escape artists? Has living betrayed us? Gary answers in part by creating a very terrible ghost, a real specter of all modern indifferences and self-interest, the typical scarecrow of any slum garden, in the character of Vanderputte, weakened so thoroughly by his long life of moral isolation that to live, at any price, is the only answer left to him. He is pitiable, loathsome, a real monster; but any real monster must be understood. It is the kid's duty to understand this old man who says once: "I'm not at all religious, but don't you think that God picked me out to teach men about themselves, to make them ashamed?"

How desperate all this sounds! And so it is—but told with what high spirits! When moral intent is delivered with such esthetic tang, art and meaning enjoy a happy life together.

JEAN GARRIGUE

MUSIC: The Decline of the Stadium

A LAME and halting season of outdoor concerts at Lewisohn Stadium in New York City comes to its close a week earlier than the August 12 date originally planned. Midway in the season Mrs. Charles S. Guggenheimer, chairman of the Stadium Concerts Committee and czarina of the project, made the announcement, unprecedented in the 33-year history of the enterprise, that a threatened loss of $50,000 above the $85,000 already guaranteed had forced the management to call off the final week. Rain, she explained, had caused the cancelation or postponement of an unusual number of programs. Would 50,000 members of the Stadium audience please reach into their pockets and contribute $1 apiece?

Rain did not account for the failure of the public to show up at the Stadium on clear nights. Only 13,000 were attracted by the combination of Pierre Monteux, Claudio Arrau, Tchaikovsky's Fourth Symphony and Brahms' B flat Piano Concerto, although the Stadium had proved at the Gershwin concert earlier in the summer that it could hold 23,000. For some concerts the attendance dropped to 3,000. Scarcely any of the programs were sellouts.

The concerts were cheap (you could get in for as little as 30 cents), and they were accessible by two subways and several bus lines. Eight million people live in New York and several million more in nearby suburbs, and there are a million out-of-town visitors every day.

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The concerts were widely advertised, so that nearly everyone ought to have known about them. In former years they drew larger crowds. Clearly the undertaking is dying on its feet, as the Robin Hood Dell concerts died in Philadelphia in the middle of last summer. (They have been resurrected this year).

The Stadium concerts are dying for want of a policy that fires the public imagination. Twenty years and more ago, the Stadium offered run-of-the-mill symphonic concerts, most of them conducted by Willem van Hoogstraten or Alexander Smallens. In those days there was no other way to hear Tchaikovsky symphonies and Brahms concertos for a low price. These concerts gave thousands of people—particularly young people—their first extensive knowledge of symphonic music.

Over the years, the original purpose of the Stadium has become increasingly meaningless. The standard orchestral repertory is played to death on the radio nowadays, and millions of people listen to it on records. Performances on the radio and on records are nearly always more polished than the half-rehearsed, slapdash approximations the bored members of the Philharmonic-Symphony Society vouchsafe most of the time at the Stadium. This summer the concerts were almost unfailingly sloppy, except when Pierre Monteux, whom the players love and admire, took matters in hand.

In recent seasons, Mrs. Guggenheimer and the management have sought to maintain public interest by handing the concerts over to a great variety of participants. They have annually hired long lists of conductors and soloists, half of whom were mediocre, and some of whom were so unpardonable that there can have been no adequate artistic excuse for their presence on the roster. This motley personnel kept right on offering the same poorly prepared performances of the same tired repertoire. It is anyone's guess why Mrs. Guggenheimer and her associates should have thought anyone would want to hear Wieniawski's creaking D minor Concerto played by a second-class violinist and a musically ungifted and technically inept conductor.

Frankly popular programs have been interlarded into the schedule of late, mostly on Saturday evenings. Two or three of these—Gershwin night, Rodgers and Hammerstein night, and Viennese night (with or without Sigmund Romberg)—have drawn very well every time they have come around in annual rotation. Others, however, have been as badly devised as many of the symphony concerts—French Opera night, with singers who understood neither the language nor the style; or Italian Opera night, with singers who were unable vocally or temperamentally to make a good case for the music.

The decline of the Stadium this summer proves that it is not wise to overestimate the loyalty of the mass musical audience. People will not attend concerts that look unattractive in advance, nor will they return for more when they have been subjected to performances that are careless and dull. Unless it reassesses its function and changes its ways, there is no hope for the Stadium.

At the Berkshire Festival, 150 miles from either New York or Boston, Serge Koussevitzky and the Boston Symphony Orchestra retain a wintertime level of excellence in the summer, and their audiences have grown so immense that there is hardly room to accommodate them on the wide and spreading Tanglewood grounds. At the St. Louis Municipal Opera, musical comedies and operettas, spectacularly staged and well sung, attract 10,000 people nearly every night in a city with hardly a tenth the potential audience of New York. The Robin Hood Dell has gotten back on its feet this summer by reducing the number of its concerts and presenting a big-name soloist—sometimes two—every time.

Various solutions might be proposed for the Stadium's problem. One thing is plain: its policy, whether shaped toward popular entertainment or toward symphonic music, must be clear, and its standards must be high. This summer the Stadium received the treatment it deserved.

CECIL SMITH

Saul Carson is now on vacation; his column, On the Air, will be resumed in the issue of August 28.

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